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interested in any other phase of the war except in a purely academic way."

Before we condemn that state too quickly, let us go west of the Alleghanies and we find it the same everywhere. Since the President has committed us to the cause of civilization, since he has sounded the bugle call which should not know retreat, if we look over this vast sleeping giant of a hundred millions of people, we find it as unmoved as though a summer zephyr had passed over the waters of the Delaware—a slight ripple, but the deep undercurrents are as yet touched but little.

And therefore I wonder what will arouse us out of our dream of isolation if a great, supreme convulsion like this European War cannot? What will rouse us and how are we going to be aroused? How are we going to teach the American people the great significance of this struggle? How are we going to give them a cosmopolitan outlook? How are we going to make them feel that they are in the very heart of the world and that the Atlantic and the Pacific are nothing more than open highways over which hostile fleets could freely pass? In other words, how are we going to give this people that vision, without which it was said upon the authority of the wise man, this or any people will perish?

MORAL INFLUENCES IN A DURABLE PEACE

BY DON C. SEITZ,

Manager, *New York World*, New York.

To discuss the problems of a durable peace is to discuss a disease for which there are plenty of doctors but no cures. There have been many prescriptions for the perfection of peace, but in the end all seem to adopt that of Tacitus: "They make a solitude which they call peace." Somehow one comes, however reluctantly, to the conclusion that the vast chemistry of nature requires the slaughter of mankind at furious intervals, just as it seems to need the devastations of fire and flood and the cruel raids of epidemics. Guard ourselves as we may against flames from mortal causes, the lightnings come from the heavens to sere the luckless earth. We may build dams and levees with all our strength and skill, but the raindrops from heaven gather and overwhelm the help-

less land. We make sanitation a science, but the germ and microbe take new turns to rid the world of our persons. The human sacrifice seems as essential as ever it was in the temples of Baal, or on the altars of the Aztecs. What reform in railway transportation have we ever been able to effect without the slaughter of passengers or employes? When were ships ever amply equipped with boats or life preservers until some hideous disaster roused us to enforce precautions? It takes the falling of an elevator with its crushed and mangled victims to produce the use of safeguards. Many must die in factory or tenement fires before the landlord can be made to put welfare ahead of profit. We preach much and practice little until forced by the chilling results of calamity, however much we may have been advised of its coming.

So too with war. Despite the teachings of Christ and the sufferings of the ages, it is our ever present peril. For two trembling years this nation remained out of the horror; our Cassandras kept calling: Prepare! Prepare! At last we do prepare. With the first preparations comes war! Surely as the seed produces grain, so do arms produce alarms, and alarms, war. Whatever reasons may be advanced by the students of world politics; whatever economic fictions may be urged, one thing stands out: the German Emperor having forged his tools for twenty-five years, and having reached middle life, determined beyond peradventure to go down into history with Caesar, Alexander, Frederick the Great and Napoleon, the chief butchers of mankind. Did you ever read the correspondence of the kings just before the outbreak? They were all cousins. They signed themselves "Willy," "Georgy" and "Nicky." To "Georgy's" last plea that he hold his hand, "Willy" answered: "It is too late. My armies are on the march!" He always intended it should be too late. His armies were always marching in his imperial mind. But where all the time were the people who suffered "Willy" to enmesh them in a rule that permitted the armies to march on unprovoking people? Whence came the right to chain them into battalions and march them on to martial murder?

It is history that the common people rarely make war. War begins either through oppressions or the obsessions of the great. The assailed, perforce, must fight. To save themselves from such assaults nations prepare by fitting themselves to commit reprisals or to resist. We have been reluctant here to feel that such a step would

become necessary and even now make a slow business of it. That preparedness may be needful because of the aggressiveness of others I cannot deny. To the argument that it is an insurance for peace I do emphatically dissent. Montaigne once observed that the walls of his castle on the mountain from which he took his title were in bad repair. Indeed, there was more breach visible than bastion. His neighbors were always reproaching him for permitting such dilapidatedness to prevail and pointing out the peril he underwent. The philosopher answered by saying he had noted that the strongest defenses had to stand the most assaults. During twenty years no hostile force had ever tackled the mountain, but his well-walled neighbors had to withstand many a fierce foray!

It is no time now to argue our own position. We have taken unexceptionable ground, even though departing wide from our ancient principles. World power means world responsibility, if we chose to make it so. The giant declines to remain longer supine. We do not greet the change eagerly. There is doubt in many an American mind as to the wisdom of so wide a purpose. Yet there could be no other justification save to aid the cause of universal democracy. If the task brings us to a world-state where rulers can be made the servants of the people, the die will have been well cast. But there are perils beyond. We, too, may forge tools that will cut their owners. We may take on a lust for conquest that will bring evil in its train. We will surely fill the minds of men with the excitement and confusion of war and when it is over these minds will not adjust themselves to the humdrum of an industrious and quiet life, but will remain idle and distracted to the end of their days. This is one of the greatest evils growing out of such a conflict. The dead and wounded count much, but the mentally disabled count far more. You need not worry over the European millions who are expected to leap back into industry when released from the ranks of war. They will not leap. They will be stunned by their share in the great events. Their minds will not find room for common thoughts. They will ever be in trench or battle to the last of their days, menacing no industries but those of their own lands.

What there is most to deplore is the breaking down of intellectual and moral influence, which I take it we are here trying to revive. The scholars and philosophers of Germany are the leaders in the upholding of strife. So it is across the world. We, here,

flout pacifists and call for deeds not words. The clergy are not preaching the doctrine of peace and good-will, but fiercely calling for vengeance, and gentle woman rallies all her strength, not in shuddering remonstrance against the ruth of war, but in zealous urgings that husbands, sons and brothers shall take a hand. With all due respect to the good, they appear more belligerent than the fighting men, more insistent upon revenge. I am not speaking as a critic. I am trying to describe one of the great anomalies. As to the consummation for which all mankind should wish, a durable peace, based upon good-will and justice, I frankly believe will never come. If it does it will be because some nation is brave enough to lay down its arms, dismantle its ships of war and say to all the world: "We have put aside the tools of conflict. We will be brothers to mankind and will abide the event, feeling that if our sacrifice fails the red will be on other hands than ours."

EQUIPMENT FOR THE POST BELLUM PERIOD

BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL,
New York City.

It seems to me that the most important equipment that our country can have for the part which it must play at the end of this war, is its state of mind. We in this country have had a proper and a high state of mind not once but several times. We rose in our might to gain our freedom. We cleaned our escutcheon of the black stain of slavery. We freed Cuba, and then, having freed her from a foreign enemy, we freed her from ourselves, not once, but twice.

May I venture to suggest two vitally important movements through which we can help our country to improve its state of mind?

The first and less important of these is that of so altering our mental attitude toward other nations that in our dealings with them, commercial, personal or diplomatic, we shall constantly grant full consideration to their point of view. I am personally under great obligations to our Government for permitting me to represent it for two years in the great Latin-American republic of Argentina, because my service there taught me our need for studying and